THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER

Concerning

RELIGION, LAWS and LIBERTIES.

By a Perſon of Honour, Mſs. H.

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The Character of a

TRIMMER:

THE PREFACE.

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a Man to writ in an Age, over-run with Scriblers, as Ægypt was with Flies and Locusts; that worse Vermine of small Authors hath given the World such a surfeit, that instead of desiring to Writ, a Man would be inclined to wish for his own ease, that he could not Read.

But there are some things which do raise Our passions, that Our Reason can make no Resistance; and when mad-Men in two Extremes shall agree to make common Sense Treason, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in a Nation, who deserved a good One, I am no longer Master of my better Resolutions to let the World alone, and break loose from any more Reasonable Thoughts, to expose those false Coins, who would make their Copper words pass upon us for good payment.

Amongst all the Engines of Dissention, there hath been none more powerful in all times, than the fixing names upon one another of contumely and reproach; and the Reason is plain, in respect of the people, who tho generally they are incapable of making a Sologism, or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a word that serveth their turn, to throw it with their dull Malice, at the head of those they do not like. Such ever begin in jest, and end in blood; And the word which maketh the company merry, groweth in time to a Military Signal, to cut one anothers throats. These mistakes are to be lamented, the not easily to be cured, being suitable enough to the corrupt Nature of Mankind But it's hard, that Men will not only invent ill names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good Ones: so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer peace and Agreement before violence and confusion.

Were it not for this, why after we have play'd the fool with throwing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow Balls, do we grow angry at a new name, which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other have done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer *signifieth no more then this, that if men are together in a Boat, one part of the Company would weigh it down of one side, an other would make it lean as much to the contrary: It happeneth there is a third opinion, who conceive it would do as well if the Boat went even without endangering the Passengers. Now it is hard to imagine by what figure in Language, or by what rule in Sense, this cometh to be a Fault; and it is much more a wonder that it should be thought a Heresie.*

But so it happeneth that the poor Trimmer *hath now all the* Pouder *spent upon him alone, whilst the* Whig *is forgotten or at least a neglected Enemie; There is no danger now to the State (if some men be believed) but from the beast called a* Trimmer; *take heed of him, he is the Instrument that must destroy Church and State. A strange kind of Monster whose deformity is so exposed, that were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children and make Women miscarry at the sight of it.*

But it may be worth examining, whether he is such a beast as he is painted; I am not of that opinion, and am so far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither affraid to expose the Articles of his Faith in Relation to Government, nor to say that I preferr them before any other Political Creed, *that either our Angry Divines, or our refin'd States-men would impose upon us.*

I have therefore in the following discourse endeavoured to explain the Trimmers *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and impartial, Judges, whether he can with Justice be so arraign'd and whether those who deliberatly pervert a good name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon them.*

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TRIMMERS Opinion, about Laws and Government in General, With some Reflections, Relating to our Own.

OUR *Trimmer* hath a great Veneration for Laws in general, as he hath more particularly for our own: He looketh upon them as the chains that tye up our unruly passions, which else like wild Beasts, would reduce the World into its first state of *Barbarism* and *Hostility*; All the good things we enjoy we owe to them; And all the ill things we avoid is by their protection.

GOD Himself thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Law-giver, and His goodness had been defective towards Mankind in making them, If he had not prescribed rules to make them happy too. All Laws flow from that of nature, and where that is not the Foundation, they may be legally imposed, but they will be lamely obeyed. By this nature is not meant that which Fools and Libertines would misquot to justifie their excesses it is innocent and uncorrupted nature, That which disposeth Men to choice Vertue without its being prescribed, and which is so far from inspiring ill thoughts into us, that we take pains to surpress the good ones it infuseth.

The Civilized World hath ever payed a willing Subjection to Laws, even Conquerors have done homage to them, as the Romans took Patrons of good Laws, even from those they have subdued, and at the same time they Triumphed over an enslaved people, the Laws of that very place did not only remain safe, but becam: Victorious, their new Masters instead of suppressing them payed them more respect than they who first made them: And by this wise Method they arrived to such an admirable constitution of Laws, that to this day they do reign by them: The excellency of them triumpheth still, and the World now payeth an acknowledgement of their obedience to that mighty Empire, tho so many Ages after is is dissolved. And by a later instance, the Kings of *France* who in practice use the Laws pretty familiarly, yet they think their Picture is drawn with most advantage upon their Seals, when they are placed in their seats of Justice; and tho the *Hieroglyphick* is not of so much use to the people there as they might Wish, yet it sheweth, that no Prince is so great as not to think fit for his own credit to give at least an outward, when he refuseth a real worship to the Laws:

They are to Mankind that which the Sun is to the Plants, as it Cherisheth and preserveth them; where they have their Force and are not clouded or suppressed, every thing smileth and Flourisheth; but where they are Darkned and not suffered to Shine out, it maketh every

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thing wither and decay: They ſecure Men not only againſt one another, but againſt themſelves too.

They are a *Sanctuary* to which the Crown hath occaſion to reſort as often as the people, *So* that it hath an Intereſt as well as a Duty to preſerve them.

There would be no end of making a *Panegyrick* of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without the Laws the World would become a wilderneſs, and Men little leſs than beaſts: But withall this the beſt things may come to be the worſt, if they are not in good hands; And if it be true that the Wiſe Men generally make the Laws, it is as true that the ſtrongeſt too often interpret them: And as Rivers belong as much to the channel where they run, as to the Spring from whence they firſt ariſe; ſo the Laws as much depend upon the pipes thorow which they are to paſs, as upon the Fountain from whence they flow.

Our *Trimmer* would have them appear in their full Luſtre, and would be grieved to ſee the day when inſtead of their ſpeaking with Authority from the *Seat* of Juſtice, they ſhould ſpeak out of a Grate with a lamenting voice, like priſoners that deſire to be reſcued.

He wiſheth that the Bench may ever have a Natural as well as a Legal Superiority to the Barr. He thinketh Mens Abilities very much diſplaced, when the reaſon of thoſe who plead is viſibly too ſtrong for thoſe who are to Judge and give Sentence.

When theſe from the Barr ſeem to dictat to their Superiors upon the Bench, their furrs will look ſcurvily about them, and the Reſpect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge to follow the Eſſential knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himſelf than others can ever be with all their Trappings.

An uncontеſted Superiority in any calling will have the better of any diſcountenance that Authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever ſuch an unnatural method ſhould be introduced, it is then that *Weſtminſter-Hall* might be ſaid to ſtand upon its head; and tho Juſtice it ſelf can never be ſo, yet the Adminiſtration of it would be rendred Ridiculous.

A judge hath ſuch a power lodged in him that the King will never be thought to have choſen well, where the voice of mankind hath not before recommended the man to his Election; when men are made judges of what they doe not underſtand, the World cenſureth ſuch a choice not out of ill will to the men but fear for themſelves.

If the King had the ſole power of choiſing Phyſicians, men would tremble to ſee bunglers preferred, yet the neceſſity of taking Phyſick from a Doctor is generally not ſo great as that of receiving Juſtice from a Judge.

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The inferences would be very ſevere in ſuch caſes, for either it will be thought that ſuch Men bought what they knew not how to deſerve; or which is as bad, that obedience ſhall be looked upon as a better qualification in a Judge then Skill or integrity.

When ſuch Sacred things as the Laws are not only touched, but guided by prophane hands, Men will fear that out of the tree of the Law from whence we expect ſhade or ſhelter, ſuch work men will make Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they will turn the Cannon upon our Properties that were intruſted with them for their Defence.

To ſee the Laws Mangled, Diſguiſed, made ſpeake quite another Language then their own, to ſee them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind to the diſgraceful Office of deſtroying them, and notwithſtanding their Innocence in themſelves, to be made the worſt Inſtruments that the moſt refined Villany can make uſe of, will raiſe Mens anger above their Power to lay it down again, and tempt them to follow the ill Example given them of Judging without Hearing, when ſo provoked by their deſire of revenge.

Our Trimmer therefore as he thinketh the Laws are Jewels, ſo he believeth they are no where better ſet than in the Conſtitution of our Engliſh Government, if rightly underſtood and carefully preſerved, It would be too great Partiality to ſay it is perfect or lyable to no Objection, ſuch things are not of this World, but if it hath more Excellency and fewer faults then any other we know, it is enough to recommend it to our eſteem.

The Diſpute which is the greater Beautie, a Monarchy, or a Common-Wealth hath laſted long between their contending Lovers; and they have behaved themſelves ſo like Lovers who in good manners muſt be out of their Wits; uſed ſuch Figures to exalt their own Idol, on either ſide, & ſuch angry aggravations to reproach one another in the Conteſt, that moderate Men have in all times ſmiled upon this Eagerneſs, and thought it differed verie little from a down right Frenzie: Wee in *England* by a happy uſe of this Controverſie conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, taking the words in the outmoſt extent, which is, "Monarchie is a thing which leaveth men "no Libertie, and a Common wealth ſuch an one as alloweth them no quiet. We think that a wiſe mean betwixt thoſe Barbarous Extremes, is that which ſelf preſervation ought to dictate to our wiſhes, and we may ſay we have attained to this mean in a greater Meaſure, then any Nation now in being, and perhaps then any we read of, tho never ſo much Celebrated for the Wiſdom or the Felicitie of their Conſtitution. We take from one, the too great Power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough

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to Govern and Protect us. We take from the other the confusion of parity, the Animosities, and the Licence, and yet reserve a due care of such a Liberty as may consist with Mens Allegiance. But being hard, if not Impossible to be exactly even, our Government hath much the stronger Byas towards Monarchie, which by the more General content and Practice of Mankind seemeth to have the Advantage in the dispute against the Common-wealth. The rules of a Common-wealth are too hard for the bulk of Mankind to come up to, that Form of Government requireth such a Spirit to carry it on, as do not dwell in great numbers but is restrained to so very few especially in this Age, That let the Methods appear never so Reasonable in Paper, they must faile in Practice, which will never be suited more to in Mens Nature as it is, then as it should be. Monarchie is liked by the People for the Bells and the Tinsel, the outward Pompe and the Guilding, and there must be Milk for Babes, the greater part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that list; and it is approved by wiser and more thinking Men, as the best when compar'd with others, and all Circumstances and Objections Impartially considered, then it hath so great an advantage above all other forms when the Administration of that Power falleth into a good hand, that all other Governments look out of Countenance when they are set in competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have saved himself the trouble of making Laws, if either he had been immortal, or that he could have secured to Posterity a Succeeding race of Princes like himself: His own example was a better Law; then he could with all his skill tell how to make: Such a Prince is a living Law that dictateth to his Subjects, whose thoughts in that case never rise above their obedience; the confidence they have in the knowledge and vertue of the Master, preventing the Scruples and Apprehensions to which Men are Naturally inclined in Relation to those that govern them. Such a Magistrate is the Life and Soul of Justice, whereas the Law is but the Body and a dead one too, without his influence to give it Warmth and Vigour; and by the irresistable power of his Vertue doth so reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all disputes between them are silenced and subdued. And indeed no *Monarchy* can be perfect and Absolute without exception, but where the Prince is Superior by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power. So that to serve out Presidents of unlimited Power is a plain Diminution to a Prince that Nature hath made Great, and who had better make himself a Glorious Example to Posterity, than borrow an Authority from dark Records raised out of the Grave, which beside their own usage have always in them matters of Controversie and Debate.

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And it may be affirmed, that the instances are very rare of Princes having the worst in the Dispute with their people, if they were Eminent either for Justice in time of Peace, or Conduct in time of Warr: Such advantage the Crown giveth to those who adorn and confirm it by their own personal Vertues. But since for the greater honour of good and wise Princes, and the better to set off their Character by the comparison, Heaven hath decreed that there must be a mixture, and that such as are perverse, and insufficient, or perhaps both, are at least to have their equal turns in the Government of the World; And besides that the Will of Man is so various and unbounded a thing, and so fatal too when joyned with power mitapplyed, its no wonder if those who are to be governed are unwilling to have so dangerous as well as so uncertain a standard of their obedience: There must be therefore Rules and Laws, for want of which, or at least the Observation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to say, "*Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treason, or Blaspheme the Gods, and even *Vespasian* himself had like to have lost his Life for sleeping, whilst he should have attended and admired that Emperours impertinencie upon the Stage.

There is a wantonness in too great power that men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that reason a wise Prince to prevent the temptations arising from common frailty, would choose to Govern by Rules for his own sake, as well as for his Peoples; since it only secureth him from Errors, and doth not lessen the real Authority that a good Magistrate would care to be possessed of. For if the will of a Prince is either contrary to reason it self, or to the Universal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind restraint rescueth him from a Disease that would undoe him. If his will on the other side is reasonable and well directed, that will immediately become a Law, and he is Arbitrary by an easie and natural consequence, without taking pains or overturning the World for it. If Princes consider Laws as things imposed on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron, but to such as would make them their choice as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold, and in that respect an Ornament, as in others they are a Defence to them: And by a Comparison not improper for Gods Vicegerents upon Earth, As our Maker never commandeth our obedience to any thing, that as reasonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election, so a good and a wise Governour, tho all Laws were abolished, would by the voluntary Direction of his own reason, do without constraint the very same things, that they would have enjoyned.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh that a King and a Kingdom are to be one Crea-

ture; not to be ſeparated in their Political Capacity, and when either of them undertake to act a part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be a laſting Motion, the whole Creature not ſtirring at a time. If the Body hath the dead Palſie, the Head cannot make it move, and GOD hath not Delegated ſuch a healing power to Princes, as that they can in a moment ſay to a Languiſhing people oppreſſed into deſpair, *Take up your Bed and Walk*. The Figure of a King, is ſo comprehenſive and ſo exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading him to lodge that power ſeparately in his own natural perſon, which can never be truely nor ſafely great, but where they are ſo united to him, as to be *Fleſh of his Fleſh, and Bone of his Bone*: For when he is reduced to the ſingle definition of a Man, he ſhrinketh into into ſo low a Character, that it is a temptation upon Mens Allegiance, and an impairing of that Veneration which is neceſſary to preſerve their duty to him: Whereas a Prince that is ſo joined to his People, that they ſeem to be his Limbs rather than his Subjects, clothed with Mercy and Juſtice rightly applyed in their ſeveral places, His Throne ſupported by Love, as by Power, and the warm wiſhes of his devouted Subjects like a never failling Incenſe, ſtill aſcending towards him, looketh ſo like the beſt Image we can frame to our ſelves of *God Almighty*, that men would have much adoe not to fall down and worſhip him, and would be much more tempted to the ſin of *Idolatrie*, then to that of diſobedience. Our *Trimmer* is of opinion, that there muſt be ſo much Dignity inſeparablie annexed to the *Regal Function*. As may be ſufficient to ſecure it from inſolence and contempt: And there muſt be condeſcentions too from the *Throne like kind ſhowers from Heaven*. That the *Prince* may look the more like *GOD Almighties Deputy upon Earth*; for power without love hath a terrifying Aſpect. And the worſhip that is payed to it, is like that which the *Indians* give out of Fear to wild Beaſts and Devils. He that feareth GOD only, becauſe there is a Hell, muſt wiſh there were no *God*: And he who feareth a King only becauſe he can puniſh, muſt wiſh there were no King. So that without a *principle of Love* there can be no *true Allegiance*; And there muſt remain perpetual Seeds of Reſiſtance againſt a Power that is founded upon ſuch an unnatural Foundation, as that of Fear and Terror. All force is a kind of foul play, and who ever owneth it himſelf, doth by implication allow it to thoſe he playeth with. So that there will be ever matter prepared in the minds of the People when they are ſo provok'd, and the Prince to ſecure himſelf, muſt live in the midſt of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquered Countrey, raiſe Armies, as if he were immediately to make or reſiſt an Invaſion, & all this while ſleep as unquietly

ly from the fear of the Remedies, as he did before from that of the Diſeaſe; it being hard for him to forget that more Princes have been deſtroyed by their Guards, than by their people; and that even the time when the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit Lex eſto*, the Armies and *Pretorian* Bands which were the Inſtruments of that unruly power, were frequently the Means made uſe of to deſtroy thoſe who had it. There will ever be this difference between *God* and his *Vicegerents*, that *God* is always above the Inſtruments he uſeth, and out of that danger of receiving hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge power in any hands, which may not at ſome time turn it back upon them.

For tho it is poſſible for a King to have power enough to ſatisfie his Ambition, yet no Kingdom hath money enough to ſatisfie the Avarice of the under-workmen, who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongeth to him, to expect from him as much more than they deſerve, and growing angry upon the firſt diſappointment, they are like Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themſelves who brought them up, but cannot ſend them down again. And beſides that there can be no laſting Radical ſecurity, but where the Governed are ſatisfied with the Governours: It muſt be a Dominion very unpleaſant to a Prince of an elevated mind, to impoſe an abject and a forced Servilty inſtead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The braveſt Princes in all times, who were incapable of any other kind of Fear, have feared to grieve there own People; ſuch a fear is a Glory, and in this ſenſe it is an infamy not to be a Coward: ſo that the miſtaken *Hero's* who are void of this generous kind of Fear, need no other Aggravation to compleat their ill Character.

When a *Deſpotick* Prince hath bruiſed all his Subjects into a Slaviſh Obedience, all the force he can uſe, cannot ſubdue his own Fears; enemies of his own Creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impoſſible to do Injuſtice, and not fear a Revenge; There is no cure for this Fear but the not deſerving to be hurt, and therefore a Prince which doth not allow his thoughts to ſtray beyond the Rule of Juſtice, hath alwayes the Bleſſing of an Inward quiet and aſſurance, as a Natural effect of his good meaning to his People & tho he will not neglect due Precautions to ſecure himſelf in all events, yet he is uncapable of Entertaining vain and remote ſuſpitions of thoſe of whom he reſolves never to deſerve ill. It is verie hard for a Prince to fear a Rebellion, who never doth nor intendeth any thing to provoke it, therefore too great a diligence in the Governours to raiſe and improve Fears, and dangers from the People, is no very good Symptome, and naturally begets an Inference that

they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal: And therefore not without ſome Reaſon, Fear before hand, that the irregularities they intend raiſe Men to a Reſiſtance.

Our *Trimmer* thinketh it no advantage to a Government to endeavour the ſuppreſſing all kind of Right, which may remain in the body of the people, or to imploy ſmall Authors in it, whoſe officiouſneſs or want of money may encourage them to write, tho it is not very eaſie to have abilities equal to ſuch a Subject. They forget that in their too high ſtrain'd Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead againſt *Humane Nature*, which will always give a byaſs to theſe Reaſons, which ſeem to be of her ſide. 'Tis the people that readeth theſe Books, and it is the people that muſt judge of them, and therefore no *maxime* ſhould be laid down for the right of Government, to which there can be any reaſonable Objection; for the World hath an intereſt, and for that reaſon is more than ordinary decerning to find out the weak ſides of ſuch Arguments, as are intended to do them hurt: And it is a Diminution to a Government, to promote or countenance ſuch well affected Miſtakes, which are turned upon it with Diſadvantage, when ever they they are Detected and Expoſed: And naturally the too earneſt endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them, by the Example, to claim that which they have not. And in power as in moſt other things, the way for Princes to keep it, is not to graſp more than their Arms can well hold. The nice and unneceſſary Inquiry into theſe things, or the Licenſing ſome Books, and ſuppreſſing others, without ſufficient Reaſon to juſtifie the doing, is ſo far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it expoſeth it to be the cenſure of being partial, and to the ſuſpition of having ſome hidden Deſigns, to be carried on by theſe unuſual Methods. When all is ſaid, there is a Natural Reaſon of State, an undefinable thing, grounded upon the common good of Mankind, which is *immortal*, and in all Changes and Revolutions, ſtill preſerveth its Original Right of ſaving a Nation, when the Letter of the Law perhaps would deſtroy it, and by whatſoever means it moveth, carrieth a power with it, that admitteth no Oppoſition, being ſupported by Nature, which inſpireth an immediate conſent at ſome critical Times, into every individual Member, to that which viſibly tendeth to the preſervation of the whole: and this being ſo, a wiſe Prince inſtead of controverting the Right of this Reaſon of State, will by all means endeavour it may ever be of his ſide, and then he will be ſecure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the power of any Prince can be laſting, but where it is built upon the Foundation of his own unborrowed

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vertue: He must not only be the first mover, and the Fountain from whence all the Great Acts of State orginally flow; but he must be thought so by his People, that they may preserve their Veneration to him: He must be jealous of his Power, and not impart so much of it to any about him, as that he may suffer an Eclipse by it.

He cannot take too much care to keep himself up, for when a Prince is thought to be led by those, with whom he should advise, and that the commands he giveth are transmitted thorow him, and are not of his own growth, the World will look upon him, as a Bird adorn'd with feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an engine than a living creature. Besides it would be a contradiction for a Prince, to fear a *Common-wealth*, and at the same time to creat one himself, by delegating such a Power to any number of Men near him, as is inconsistent with the true figure of a Monarch; It is the worst kind of Co-ordination the Crown can submit to: For it is the exercise of power that draweth the respect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not sufficient to keep it up. But tho it is a Diminution to a Prince to parcel out his power so liberally amongst his Favourites, it is yet worse to divide with any other man, to bring himself in competion with a single Rival, a partner in Government, is so unnatural a thing, that it is a squint ey'd Allegiance which must be payed to such a double bottomed Monarchy. The two *Czaars* are an example that the more Civilized part of the World will not be proud to follow, and whatever gloss may be put upon this method, by those to whom it may be of some use, the Prince will do well to remember and reflect upon the story of certain men, who had set up a Statue in Honour of the *Sun*, yet in a very little time they turned their back to the *Sun*, and their Faces to the *Statue*.

These mystical Unions are better placed in the other World than they are in this, and we shall have much adoe, when in a *Monarchy Gods Vicegerency* is delegated to more Heads, than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend some of their Light to make another shine, but they must still prefer the superiority of being the brighter *planet*, and when it hapneth that the Reversion is in Mens eyes, there is more care necessary to keep up the *Dignity of possession*, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their Hopes or their Fears who shall be.

If the *Sun* should part with all its Light to any of the *Stars*, the *Indians* would not know where to find their *God*, after he had so deposed himself, and would make the Light where ever it went, the *object of their worship*

All *Uſurpation* is alike upon the *Soveraignity*, it is no matter from what Hand it cometh, and *crowned Heads* are to be the more circumſpect, in reſpect that Mens Thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is preſent; They love to work at a Diſtance, and in the greedy Expectation, their Minds may be filled with of a New Maſter, the Old One may be left to look a little out of countenance

Our *Trimmer* owneth a *paſſion for Liberty*, yet ſo reſtrained, that it doth not in the leaſt impair or taint his *Allegiance*: He thinketh it is hard for a Soul that doth not love Liberty, ever to raiſe it ſelf to another World; He taketh it to be the Foundation of all Vertue, and the only Reaſoning that giveth a reliſh to Life: And tho the lazineſs of a *ſlaviſh Subjection* hath its charms for the more groſs and Earthly part of Mankind, Yet to Men made of a better ſort of Clay, all that the World can give without *Liberty* hath no taſte; It is true nothing is ſold ſo cheap by *unthinking Men*, but that doth no more leſſen the real value of it, then a Country Fellows ignorance doth that of a Diamond in ſelling it for a pot of Ale.

Liberty is the *Miſtres of Mankind*, ſhe hath powerful charms which do ſo dazle us, that we find beauties in her which perhaps are not there, as we do in other *Miſtreſſes*: Yet if ſhe was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her. Therefore ſince the reaſonable deſire of it ought not to be reſtrained, and even the unreaſonable deſire of it cannot be ſuppreſſed; thoſe who will take it away from a people poſſeſſed of it, are likely either to fail in their attaining, or to be very unquiet in keeping of it. Our *Trimmer* admireth our bleſſed Conſtitution in which Dominion and Liberty are ſo happily reconciled; It giveth to the Prince the Glorious Power of commanding Free-men, and to the Subject the ſatisfaction of ſeing that Power ſo lodged, as that their Liberties are ſecure: It doth not allow the Crown ſuch *a ruining power* as that no graſs can grow wherever it tradeth, but a *cheriſhing & protecting* Power, ſuch an one as hath a Grim Aſpect only to the offending Subjects, but it is the joy and pride of the good ones, their own Intereſt being ſo bound up in it, as to engage them to Defend and Support it: As the King is in ſome inſtances reſtrained; ſo nothing in the Government can move without him. Our Laws make a true diſtinction betwixt Vaſſallage and Obedience, between a devouring *Prerogative* and a Licentious ungovernable Freedom; And as of all the orders of Building, the Compoſit is the beſt, ſo ours by a wiſe mixture and happy choiſe of what is beſt in others, is brought into a form that is our Felicitie who live under it, and the envy of our Neighbours who cannot Imitate it. The Crown

hath

hath power ſufficient to protect our Liberties, the People hath ſo much Liberty as is neceſſar to make them uſeful to the Crown: Our Government is in a juſt proportion, no *Timpany*, no unnatural ſwelling either of Power or Libertie; And whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, reaſon, Learning, and Enquiry are baniſhed, hanged in Effigie for *Mutiners*, here they are encouraged and cheriſhed, as the ſureſt Friends to a Government eſtabliſhed upon the Foundation of Law and Juſtice. When all is done, thoſe who look for perfection in this World, may look as long as the *Jews* have done for their *Meſſias*; And therefore our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably Partial as to free our Government from all Objections: No doubt there have been fatal inſtances of its ſickneſs, and more then that of its Mortality for ſome time, tho by a Miracle it hath been revived again. But till we have another Mankind, in all Conſtitutions that are bounded there will be ever ſome matter of ſtrife, and contention, and rather then want pretences, Mens paſſions and Intereſts will raiſe them from the moſt inconſiderable cauſes. Our Government is like our Clymat, there are winds that are ſometime loud and unquiet, and yet with all the trouble they give us we owe a great part of our Health to them, they cleanſe the Air which would elſe be like a ſtanding pool, and inſtead of a Refreſhment would be a diſeaſe to us. There may be freſh Gales of aſſerted Liberty; without turning into ſuch ſtorms or *Hurricanes*, as that the State ſhould run any hazard of being caſt away be them: Theſe ſtrugglings which are natural to all mixed Governments, whilſt they are keeped from growing into Convulſions, do by a mutual Agitation from the ſeveral parts rather ſupport and ſtrengthen, and weaken or maim the Conſtitution; and the whole frame inſtead of being torn or disjoynted, cometh to be the better and cloſſer knit by being thus exerciſed. But what ever faults our Government may have, or whatever ſpots a decerning *Critick* may find in it, when he looketh upon it alone, let any other be ſet againſt it, and then it ſheweth its Comparative Beautie: Let us look upon the moſt glittering outſide of unbounded Authority, and upon a nearer Enquiry we ſhall find nothing but poor and miſerable deformity within. Let us imagine a Prince living in his Kingdom, as if he was in a great Gally; his Subjects tugging at the Oar loaden with Chains, and reduced to real raggs, to gain him imaginary Laurels: Let us Repreſent him gazing among his Flatterers, like a child never contradicted, and therefore always cozned, or like a Lady Complemented only to be abuſed; condemned never to hear Truth, and conſequently never to do Juſtice,

wallowing in the ſoft bed of Wanton and unbridled greatneſs, not leſs odious to the Inſtrument than to the Objects of his Tyranny; Blown up into an Ambitious dropſie, never to be ſatisfied by the Conqueſt of other People or by the oppreſſion of his own; by aiming to be more then a Man, he becometh a beaſt; A miſtaken Creature ſwelled with Panegyricks, and flattered out of his Senſes: Not only an incumbrance, but a common nuſance to Mankind; A hardned and unrelenting Soul; and like ſome Creatures that groweth fat with Poyſons, he groweth great by other Mens miſeries: An Ambitious Ape of the Divine greatneſs; an unruly Gyant, that would ſtorm even Heaven its ſelf, but his ſcaling Ledder is not long enough: In ſhort a wild Beaſt in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in *God Almighties* hand, to be thrown into the fire, when the World hath been ſufficiently ſcourged with it.

This Picture laid in right Colours, would not invite men to wiſh for ſuch a Government; but rather to acknowledge the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Priviledges reaſonable men can deſire, and avoid all the miſeries many others are ſubject to. So that our *Trimmer* would fain keep it with all its Faults, and doth as little foregive thoſe who give the Occaſion of breaking it, as he doth thoſe that take it. Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to *Parliaments*, notwithſtanding all their faults and exceſſes, which of late have given much matter of objection to them; He thinketh that tho they may at ſome times be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration: He believeth no Government is perfect, except a kind of Omnipotence reſide in it, To be exerced upon great occaſions: Now this cannot be attained by force upon the People, let it be never ſo great; there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a nation moveth only (by being driven) a ſluggiſh and conſtrained motion, void of that life and vigor, which is neceſſary to produce great things. Whereas the virtual conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving the Sanction to the united Senſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority ſeemeth to be an Act of their choiſe, as well as a part of their duty; and they do with an eagerneſs of which men are uncapable whilſt under a force, execute whatever is ſo enjoyned as their own will better explained by Parliament, rather then from the terror of incurring the penaltie of the Law for omitting it. And by the means of this Political Omnipotence, what ever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the laſt drop produced, whilſt it riſeth naturally from the

the Root? Whereas all power exerced without conſent is like wounds and Gaſhes, and Topping a Tree at unſeaſonable Times, for the preſent occaſion which in a very little time muſt needs deſtroy it. Our *Trimmer* believeth that by the Advantage of Our *Situation*, there can hardly any ſuch ſudden diſeaſe come upon us, but that the King may have time enough left to conſult with his *Phyſicians in Parliament*. Pretences indeed may be made, but a real neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no delay is to admitted, is hardly to be imagined; and it will neither be able to give an inſtance of any ſuch thing for the time paſt, or reaſonable to preſume it will ever happen for the time to come. But if that ſtrange thing ſhould happen to fall out, our *Trimmer* is not ſo ſtrait lac'd, as to let a Nation die or be ſtiffled, rather then it ſhould be helped by others then the proper Officers; the caſes themſelves would bring the Remedies along with them, and he is not afraid to allow, that in order to its preſervation, there is a hidden power in Government which ſhould be loſt if it was defined; A certain myſtery by vertue of which a Nation may be at ſome Critical time ſecured from Ruine: But then it muſt be keeped as a Myſtery. It is rendered uſeleſs when touched by unskilful hands; and no Government ever had or deſerved to have that power, which was ſo warrie as to Anticipat their claim to it. Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been obſerved; Firſt, Becauſe it is the Law, and he would not have the Crown, by ſuch an example, teach the Nation to break it: All Irregularity is catching, it hath contagion in it, eſpecially in an Age ſo much more inclined to follow ill Paterns, then good ones: He would have had a Parliament, becauſe it is an Eſſential part of the Conſtitution, even without the Law, it being the only proviſion in extraordinary caſes, in which there would otherways be no Remedy: And there can be no greater Soliciſm in Government, than a failing of Juſtice: He would have had one, becauſe nothing elſe can unite and heal us, all other means are meer ſhifts and projects, houſes of Cards blown down with the leaſt breath, and that cannot reſiſt the difficulties which are ever to be preſumed in things of this kind: And he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the King good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt without his own conſent, which in that caſe is not to be ſuppoſed.

Therefore, for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the reaſons can never be preſumed to grow in our ſoil, or to thrive in it, when tranſplanted from any other Country: And no doubt there are ſuch irreſiſtable Arguments for the calling a Parliament,

that

that tho it might be denyed to the unmannerly threatnings of men, that are Mutinous and diſaffected, it would be granted to the ſoft and obſequious murmours of his Majeſties beſt *Subjects* : And there would be ſuch a *Rhetorick* in their ſilent grief , that it will at laſt prevail againſt the Artifices of thoſe , who either out of guilt or Intereſt , afraid to throw themſelves upon their Country, knowing how ſcurvily they have uſ'd it. That day of Judgment will come , tho we know neither the day nor the hour , and Our *Trimmer* would live ſo , as to be prepared for it, with full aſſurance in the mean time , that the Lamenting voice of a Nation cannot long be reſiſted , and that a Prince, who would ſo forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

THE TRIMMERS

Opinion Concerning RELIGION, to the Producing Quiet amongſt our Selves.

RELIGION hath ſuch a Superiority above all others things, and that indiſpenſable influence upon all mankind , that it is as neceſſary to our living happily in this World : as it is to our being ſaved in the next: Without it man is an abandoned Creature, one of the worſt beaſts nature hath produced, and fit only for the *Society* of Wolves and Bears. Therefore in all Ages it hath been the *foundation* of Government; and tho *Falſe Gods* have been impoſed upon the Credulity of the World; yet they were God's ſtill in their opinion: And the aw & deference Men had to them, and their Oracles kept them within bounds towards one another , which the Laws alone *with all their Authority* could never have *affected without the help of Religion*, the *Laws* would not be able to ſubdue the perverſneſs of Mens wills, which are wild Beaſts that require a double chain to keep them down. "*For this Reaſon it is ſaid, that it is not a ſufficient* "*ground to make War on a neighbouring State, becauſe they are of an other Religion:* "*let it be never ſo differing; yet if they worſhip and acknowlege no Deity at all, they* "*may be invaded as publick Enemies of Mankind , becauſe they reject the only* "*thing that can bind men to live well with an other.* The conſideration of Religion

ligion is so twisted with the Government, that it is never to be separated, and tho the Foundations of it are to be unchangable and eternal, yet the forms and Circumstances of Discipline, are to be suited to the several Climates and Constitutions, so as they may keep men in a willing acquiescence to them without discomposing the World by Nice Disputes, which can never be of equal Moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England*, seemeth to be distinguished by a peculiar Effect of *God Almighties* goodness, in permitting it to be introduced or more properly restored, by a more Regular method, Then the circumstances of most other Reformed Churches, would allow them to do in Relation to the Government, and the Dignity with which it hath supported it self; and the great men our Church hath produced, ought to recommend it to the esteem of all Protestants; At least our *Trimmer* is very partial to it for these Reasons and many more, and desirous that it may preserve its due Jurisdiction and Authority, so far he is from wishing it oppress, by the malicious or unreasonable Cavils of those who take pains to raise Objections to it. The Question then will be how, and by what methods this Church shall best support it self, the present Circumstances considered in relation to Dissenters of all Sorts? I will first lay it for a ground, that as there can be no true Religion without Charity, so there can be no humane prudence without bearing and Condescention. This principal doth not extend to oblige the Church alwayes to yield to those, who are disposed to contest with it, the expediencie of doing it, is to be considered and determined according to the occasion; And this leadeth me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference first to the Protestant and then to the Popish Recusants. What heat lately happned amongst us, makes an Apology necessary for saying any thing that looketh like favour towards any sort of men, who have brought themselves under such a disadvantage. The late conspiracy hath such broad Symptoms of the disaffection of the whole party, that upon the first Reflection whilst our Thoughts are warm, it would almost perswade us to put them out of the Protection of our good nature, and to think that the Christian indulgence, which our compassion for other Mens sufferings cannot easily deny, seemeth against, and even becometh a Crime when it is so misapplyed. Yet for all this, upon second and colder thoughts, moderate men will not be so ready to involve a whole party in the guilt of a few, or to admite inferences and presumptions, to be evidences in a case, where the Sentence must be so heavy, as it ought to be against all those, who have a fixed Resolution

against

againſt the Government eſtabliſhed. Beſides men who act by a principle grounded upon a Moral Vertue can never let it be intirely extinguiſhed by the moſt repeated Provocations. If a right thing agreeable to nature and good ſenſe taketh root in the heart of a Man, that is impartial and unbyaſſed, no outward Circumſtances can ever deſtroy it; 'Tis true the degree of Mans zeal for the Proſecution of it may be differing, the faults of other Men, the conſideration of the Publick, and the reaſonable Prudence by which wiſe Men will ever be directed, may give great Allays, they may leſſen, and perhaps for a time ſuppreſs the exerciſe of that, which in a general Propoſition may be reaſonable; but what ever is ſo, will inevitably grow and ſpring up again, having a Foundation in nature which is not to be deſtroyed. Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavours to ſeparate the deteſtation he hath of thoſe who had either a hand or a thought in the late Plot, from the principle of Prudential, as well as Chriſtian Charity towards Mankind; And for that reaſon, would fain uſe the means of Reconciling ſuch of the *Diſſenters* as are not incurable, and of even offbearing to a degree thoſe that are, as far as may conſiſt with the publick intereſt and ſecurity. He is far from juſtifying an affected ſeparation from the Communion of the Church, and even in thoſe who mean well and are miſled, he looketh upon it as a diſeaſe that hath ſeaſed upon their minds, very troubleſome to themſelves, as well as dangerous by the Conſequences it may produce. He doth not go about to excuſe their making it an indiſpenſable duty to meet in numbers to ſay their Prayers; ſuch meetings may prove miſchievous to the State, at leaſt the Laws which are the beſt Judges have determined that there is danger in them; He hath good nature enough to Lament, that the perverſneſs of a part, ſhould have drawn Rigorous Laws upon the Body of *Diſſenters*, but when they are once made no Private Opinion, muſt ſtand in oppoſition to them. If they are in themſelves reaſonable, they are in that reſpect to be obſerved, even without being enjoyned, if by the change of times and circumſtances they ſhould become leſs reaſonable than when they were firſt made, even then they are to be obeyed too, becauſe they are *Laws* till they are mended or repeled by the ſame Authority that enacted them He hath too much deference to the *conſtitution* of our *Government*, to wiſh any more *Prerogative Declarations* in favours of Scrupulous men, or to Diſpenſe with *Penal Laws* in ſuch a manner, or to ſuch an end. That ſuſpecting men might with ſome reaſon apprehend. that ſo hated a thing as a Perſecution could never make way for it ſelf with any hope of Succeſs, otherwayes then

by

by preparing the deluded World with a falſe proſpect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward *S*prings and Wheels by which that Engine moved are now ſo fully laid open and expoſed, that it is not ſuppoſable ſuch a baffled Experiment ſhould ever be tryed again. The effect it had at that time, and the ſpirit it raiſed will not eaſily be forgotten; and it may be preſumed that the remembrance of it may ſecure us from any more attempts of that kind for the future; we muſt no more break a Law to give a man eaſe, then we are to Robb a houſe, with a devout intention of giving the plunder to the Poor: In this caſe our compaſſion would be ill directed, as our Charity in the other; in ſhort, the Veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the pretenſions be never ſo ſpecious. Yet for all this, he cannot bring himſelf to think that an extraordinary diligence to exact the outmoſt penalties of the Law, upon a poor offending Neighbour, is of it ſelf ſuch an alſufficient Vertue, that without ſomething elſe to recommend men, it ſhould Entittle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards. He would not detract from the merits of thoſe who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think that ſuch a piece of ſervice as this, can entirely change the Man, or either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magiſtrate then he was before, eſpecially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand, in reference to great and more dangerous Offenders. Our *Trimmer* would have theſe *miſtaken Men* ready to throw themſelves in the Arms of the Church, and he would have theſe Arms as ready to receive them: He would have no Supercilious looks to fright theſe ſtray'd Sheep from coming into the Fold again, no ill natured Maxims of Eternal Suſpition, or a belief that theſe who have been in the wrong can never be in the right again; But a viſible preparation of the mind to receive with joy, all the Proſelites that ſhall come to us, and a much greater Earneſtneſs to reclaim, then puniſh them. It is to be confeſſed, that when there is a great deal to forgive, it is a task hard enough for a Church ſo provoked: But that muſt not cut off all hopes of being reconciled. Yet if there muſt be ſome Anger left ſtill, let it break out into a Chriſtian Revenge, and by being kinder to theſe Children of Diſobedience then they deſerve, let the injured Church Triumph by throwing *Shame and Confuſion of Face upon them*, there ſhould not alwayes be *S*torms and Thunder, a clearer Skie ſometimes would make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards Reclaiming theſe Wanderers, then a perpetual Terror, which ſeemeth to have no Intermiſſion: For there are many and particularly in *England*, that by a miſtaken pleaſure in reſiſting the Dictates of Ri-

gorous Authority, whose Stomach riseth against a hard Imposition; Nay be in some a Lust in suffering from a wrong point of Honour, which yet doth not want the Applause of the great part of Mankind, who have not learned to distinguish: Constancie will be thought a vertue even when it is a mistake, and the ill judging World will be apt to think the Opinion most in the Right, which produceth the greater Numbers of those who are willing to suffer for it; all this is prevented and falls to the ground by using well-timed Indulgences. And the stubborn Adversary who valueth himself upon his Resistance whilst he is oppressed, yieldeth unsensibly to kinder methods when they are applyed to him; And the same man melteth naturally into conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it.

We may be taught (by the Compassion that attendeth the most Criminal Men when they are Condem'd, that Faults are much more natural things then Punishments, and that even the most necessary Acts of Severity, do some kind of Violence to our Nature, whose Indulgence will not be confined within the strict bounds of exorable Justice!) So that this should be an Argument for Gentleness. Besides that it is the likeliest way to make these men ashamed of their Separation, whilst the pressing them too hard tendeth rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy supported in their Lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongeth to them; and yet he thinketh that possibly there may be in some of them, a too great eagerness to extend the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which tho' it may be well intended, yet the straining it too high, hath an appearance of Ambition, that raiseth mens Objections to it, and is so very unlike the Apostolick Zeal, which was quite otherwayes Applied, that the World draweth inferences from it, which do the Church no service: He is troubled to see Men of all sides sick of a *Calenture* of a Mistaken Devotion, and it seemeth to him, that the devout Fire of Mutual Charity with which the *Primitive Christians* were inflamed, is long since extinguished and instead of it, a devouring fire of Anger and Persecution breaking out in the World. We wrangle with one another for Religion, till the Blood cometh; whilst the Commandments have no more Authority with us, then if they were so many Absolute Laws, or Proclamations out of date. He thinketh that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made an Heretick; And therefore, as he believeth Devotion to be misplaced, when it getteth into a Conventicle, he concludeth that Loyalty is so too, when it is lodged

lodged in a drunken Club. These vertues deserve a better seat of Empire, and they are degraded when such men undertake their defence, as have too great need of an Apology for themselves. Our *Trimmer* wisheth that some knowledge may go along with Zeal on the right side; and that those that are in possession of the Pulpit, would Quot at least as often the Authority of the Scriptures, as they do that of the State. There are many, who borrow too often from the Government Arms to use against their Adversaries, and neglect those that are more proper, and would be more powerful. A Divine groweth less, and putteth a Diminution upon his own Character, when he Quoteth any Law but that of *God Almighty*, to get the better of those that contest with him; And as it is a sign of a decaying Constitution, when nature with good dyet cannot expel noxious humours, without calling Forraign Drugs to her Assistance; so it looketh like want of Health in a Church, when instead of depending upon the power of that Truth which it holdeth, and the good example of those who teach it, to support it self and suppress Errors, it should have a perpetual recourse to the Secular Authority, and even upon the slighteſt occasions. Our *Trimmer* hath his Objections to the too busied diligence and overdoing of some of the Dissenting Clergy, and he doth as little Approve those of our Church who weare *God Almightie's* Livery, as some old Warders in the Tower do the King's: who do nothing that belongs unto their place, but receiving the wages for it. He thinketh that the Liberty of the late times gave men so much Light, and diffused it so Universally among the People, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in an Age of less enquiry And therefore tho in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Non-sense backed with Authority may prevail, yet generally Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very warry, before they go about to impose upon their understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former times, when the Men in Black had made Learning such a Sin for the Laity, that for fear of offending they made a Conscience of being able to read. But now the World is grown so wise, and expecteth Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Men's Dictates, tho' never so Magisterially delivered to them. And our *Trimmer* is farr from approving the Hypocrisie which seemeth to be the Reigning Vice among some of the *Dissenting Clergy*; He thinketh it the most provoking Sin men can be guilty of in Relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that

very ſin which ſhall deſtroy the Soul of the man who preacheth, may help to ſave thoſe of the Company that hear him, and even thoſe that are cheated by the falſe Oſtentation of the ſtrictnets of his Life, may by that pattern be encouraged to the real practice of theſe Chriſtian Vertues, which he doth ſo deceitfully profeſs: So that the Deteſtation of his fault, may poſſibly be carried too farr by our more *Orthodox Divines*, and a worſe extreme for men of that Character, who by going to the outmoſt Line of Chriſtian Libetry, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it. No Man doth leſs approve the ill-bred Method of ſome of the Diſſenters in Rebuking Authority, who behave themſelves as if they thought ill manners neceſſary to Salvation; yet he cannot but diſtinguiſh and deſire a mean between the of ſome of the *Scotiſh* Apoſtles and the indecent Courtſhip of ſome ſilken Divines, who one would think did practiſe to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better legs at Court. Our *Trimmer* approveth the principle of our Church, That *Dominion is not founded in Grace*; And that our *obedience is to be given to a Popiſh King* in other things, at the ſame time that our complyance with him in *Religion* is to be denyed: Yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing, if a *Proteſtant Church* ſhould by a voluntary Election chooſe a *Papiſt* for their Guardain, and receive Directions for ſupporting our *Religion* from one who muſt believe it a *mortal ſin* not to endeavour to deſtroy it: Such a refined peece of breeding would not ſeem to be very well placed in the *Clergy*, who will hardly be able to find precedents to juſtifie ſuch an extravagant kind of Courtſhip; And which is ſo unlike the *primitive Methods*, that ought to be our pattern. He hath no ſuch unreaſonable tenderneſs for any ſort of Men, as to expect their Faults ſhould not be impartially laid open, as they give occaſion for it. And yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee, that the ſame Man who ſetteth up all his ſailes of *Rhetorick* to fall upon the *Diſſenters*; when *Popery* is to be handled, he doth it ſo gingerly, that he looketh like an Aſs mumbling of a Thriſtle, ſo affraid he is of letting himſelf looſe upon a Subject, when he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is ſo far from reliſhing the impertinent wanderings of theſe who pour out long prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own ſtock, which GOD knoweth for the moſt part is a barren ſoil, that produceth weeds in ſtead of flowers; And by this means they expoſe *Religion* it ſelf, rather than promote Mens Devotions. On the other ſide there may be too great Reſtraint put upon Men, whom GOD & Nature hath diſtinguiſhed from their Fellow Labourers, by bleſſing them with a happier Talent; And by giving them not only good ſenſe, but a

powerful

powerful utterance too, hath enabled them to guſh out upon the attentive Authority, with a mighty ſtream of Devout and Unaffected Eloquence: When a Man is qualified and endued with Learning, and above all, adorned with a good Life, breaking out into a warm and well delivered prayer before his Sermon, it hath appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raiſeth and leadeth the hearts of an Aſſembly in another manner, than moſt ſtudied, beſt compoſed *form of ſet Words* can attain to,& the *Prayers* who ſerve up all their Sermons with the ſame garniſhing, would look like ſo many Statues,or Men of ſtraw in the Pulpit, compared with thoſe who ſpeak with ſuch a powerful Zeal, that Men are tempted at the moment, to believe Heaven it ſelf had dictated their words to them Our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably indulgent to the *Diſſenters*, as to excuſe the irregularities of their complaints, or to approve their Threatning ſtile, which is ſo ill ſuted to their Circumſtances, as well as to their Duty: He would have them ſhew their grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by ſuch a ſubmiſſion to Authority as becometh them; if they cannot inwardly acquieſce in what is impoſed, let them deſire a *Legiſlative* Remedy to their ſufferings. There being no other way to give them perfect Redreſs, then either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it, would not only be vain but criminal too, in thoſe that go about it. Yet for all this, there may be in the mean time a *Prudential Latitude* left, as to the manner of proſecuting the Laws now in force againſt them, the *Government* is in ſome Degree anſwerable for ſuch an *Adminiſtration*, as may be free from the cenſure of *Impartial Judges*: And in order to that it will be neceſſary that one of theſe Methods be purſued, either to let looſe the Laws, to their outmoſt extent, without any Moderation or Reſtraint; In which at the leaſt, the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the penalties being exacted without Remiſſion from the *Diſſenters* in all kinds; or if that will not be done, (as indeed there is no Reaſon it ſhould) there is a neceſſity of ſome connivance to the *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, to excuſe that which muſt in Humanity be allowed the *Papiſts*, even without any leaning to them, which might be ſuppoſed in thoſe who are or ſhall be in the Adminiſtration of *publick buſineſs*; and it will follow, that according to our circumſtances the Diſtribution of ſuch Connivances muſt be made in ſuch a manner, that the greater part of it may fall on the *Proteſtant* ſide, or elſe the Objections will be ſo ſtrong, and the Inference ſo clear, that the Friends as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be ſure to take hold of them. It will not be ſufficient to ſay, *the Papiſts may be connived at becauſe they are good Subjects*; But, that the *Proteſtant Diſſenters muſt ſuffer becauſe they are ill ones*: Theſe general Maxims will not convince diſcerning Men, neither will

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any late instances make them forget what hath passed at other times in the World; Both Sides have had their turns in being good or ill Subjects, and therefore it is easie to imagine what suspitions would arise in the present Conjuncture, if such a partial Argument as this should be imposed upon us. The truth is, the matter speaketh so much of it self, that it is not only unnecessary, but it may be unmannerly to say any more of it. Our *Trimmer* therefore could wish, that since notwithstanding the Laws, which *deny Churches to say Mass in*, not only the *Exercise*, but even the *Ostentation of popery*, is as well or better performed in the Chappels of so many Forraign Ministers, where the *English* resort, in spite of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmless things unto them, as the *Popes Bulls*, and *Excommunication* are to *Hereticks* who are out of his reach; I say, that he could wish, that by a seasonable as well as by an equal piece of Justice, there might be so much consideration had of the *Protestant Dissenters*, as that there might be at some times and in some places a vail thrown over an innocent and retired Conventicle: And that such an *indulgence* may be *practised* with less *prejudice* to the *Church*, or diminution to the Laws, it might be done, so as to look rather like a kind Omission, to enquire strictly, than an allowed Tolleration, of that which is against the Rule established, such a skilful hand as this is very necessary in our Circumstances, and the Government, by making no sort of Men entirely desperate, doth not only secure it self from the danger of any wild or Villanous attempt, but layeth such a foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when ever a Parliament shall meet, that the seeds of Difference and Animosities betwixt the several contending Sects may (Heaven consenting) for ever be destroyed.

THE TRIMMERS Opinion Concerning PAPISTS.

TO speak of *Popery* leadeth one into such a Sea of matter, that it is not easie to forebear lanching in it being invited, by such a fruitful Theme, and by a variety never to be exhausted; But to confine it to the present subject, I will only say a short word of *Religion* it self, of its influence

influence here at this time, And of our *Trimmer's* Opinion in relation of our manner of living with them. If a Man would ſpeak maliciouſly of this Religion; One might ſay it is like theſe Diſeaſes, where as long as one drop of the Infection remaineth, there is ſtill a danger of having the whole maſs of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedland* there was an abſolute cure, and nothing of *Popery* heard of till Queen *Chriſtian* (whether moved by Arguments of this or the other World, would not be good manners to enquire) thought fit to change her Religion, and her Country, and to live at *Rome*, where ſhe might find better Judges of her vertues, and leſs ungentle cenſures of thoſe Princely Liberties ſhe was ſome time depoſed to, when ſhe lived at *Stockholm* where the good breeding of the Climat is much inferiour to that of *Rome*, as well as the civility of the *Religion:* And the *Cardinals* having refined the *Church* from theſe *clowniſh methods* the *Fiſher-Men* had firſt introduced, & mended that *Pattern* ſo effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he ſhould now come into the World, would not poſſibly know it. In *Denmark* the *Reformation* was intire. In ſome *States of Germany* as well as *Geneva*, the cure was univerſal. But in the reſt of the World, where the *Proteſtant Religion* took place, the *Popiſh humour* was too tough to be totally expelled; And ſo it was in *England*, tho' the change was made with all the Advantage imaginable to the *Reformation*, it being countenanced and introduced by *Legal Authority*, and by that means perhaps have been as perfect as in any other place, if the ſhort Reign of *Edward the 6th*, and the ſucceſſion of a *Popiſh Queen*, had not given ſuch advantage to that *Religion*, that it hath ſubſiſted ever ſince under all the hardſhips that have been put upon it, it hath been a cloſs compact Body, and made the more ſo by their ſufferings, it was not ſtrong enough to prevail, but it was ſtill able with the help of forraign ſupport to carry on an intereſt which gave the Crown trouble to make a conſiderable, not to ſay a dangerous, figure in the Nation, ſo much as this would not have been without ſome hopes, nor theſe hopes kept up, without ſome conſiderable grounds.

In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the *Spaniſh zeal* of their *Religion*; and their Revenge for (88) gave warmth to the *Papiſts* here; And above all, the Right of the Queen of *SCOTS* to ſucceed, was whilſt ſhe lived, ſufficient to give them a better proſpect of their Affairs. In King *James* time, the *Spaniſh* Match and his Gentleneſs towards them, kept them up, which they were ready to interpret more in their Favours, than was either reaſonable, or then became them, ſo little tenderneſs they have where it is moſt due, if the intereſt of their *Religion* come in competition with it. As for the laſt King, tho' he gave the moſt glorious Evidence, that ever

Man

Man did of his being *Proteſtant*, yet by the more then ordinary influence the Queen was thought to have over him, and it ſo happening, that the greater part of his anger was direct againſt the *Puritans*, there was ſuch an Advantage given to Men diſpoſed to ſuſpect, that they were ready to interpret it a *leaning towards Popery*, without which handle, it was morally impoſſible that the ill affected part of the Nation could ever have ſeduced the reſt unto Rebellion; That which helped to confirm many well meaning Men in their miſapprehenſions of the King, was the long and unuſual intermiſſions of *Parliaments*, ſo that every year that paſſed without one, made up a new Argument to increaſe their ſuſpitions, and made them preſume that the *papiſts* had a principal hand in keeping of them off: This raiſed ſuch heat in Mens minds, to think that Men who were obnoxious to the Laws, in ſtead of being puniſhed, ſhould have credit enough even to ſecure themſelves, even at the price of deſtroying the *fundamental Conſtitutions*, that it broke out into a flame, which before it could be quenched, had almoſt reduced the Nation to aſhes. Amongſt the miſerable effects of that *unnatural Warr*, none hath been more fatal to Us, than the forcing our Princes to breath in an other Air, and to receive the Earthly impreſſion of a Forraign Education. The barbarity of the *Engliſh* toward their King, and the Royal Family, might very well tempt him to think the better of every thing be found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleneſs towards a Religion, by which he was Hoſpitally received, at the ſame time he was thrown off, and perſecuted by the *Proteſtants* tho' his own Subjects too, to agravate the Offence. The Queen Mother (as generally Ladies do) with Age grew more devout, and earneſt in her Religion, and beſides the Temporal Rewards of getting larger ſubſidies from the *French Clergie*, ſhe had Motives of another kind to perſwade her to ſhew her zeal: And ſince by the *Roman Diſpenſatory*, a Soul converted to the Church, is a ſoveraign Remedy, and layeth up a mighty ſtock of *Merit*; She was alſo ſolicitous to ſecure her ſelf in all events, and therefore firſt ſet upon the Duke of *Glocester*, who depended ſo much upon her good-will, That ſhe might for that Reaſon be induced to believe, that the Conqueſt would not be difficult: But it ſo fell out, that he either from his own conſtancie, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherwiſe adviſed, chooſed rather to run away from her importunity, than by ſtaying, to bear the continual weight of it. 'Tis believed ſhe had better ſucceſs with another of her Sons, who if he was not quite brought off from *our Religion*, at leaſt ſuch beginnings were made, as made them very eaſie to be finiſhed; his being of a Generous and Aſpiring Nature, and in that reſpect leſs patient

of

the Drugery of Arguing; might propably help to recommend a *Church* to him, that exempteth the *Laytie* from the vexation of enquiring; Perhaps he might (tho' by miſtake) look upon that Religion as more Favourable to the enlarged power of a *King*, a conſideration that might have its weight with a young Prince in his warm blood, and that was brought up in Armies. I cannot hinder my ſelf from a ſmall Digreſſion to conſider with Admiration: That this *old Lady of Rome*, with all her wrinkles ſhould yet have Charms able to ſubdue great Princes, ſo far from handſome, and yet ſo Imperious, ſo painted and yet ſo pretending, after having Abuſed, Deſtroyed and Murdered ſo many of her Lovers, ſhe ſtill findeth others glad of her new Charms: A thing ſo ſtrange to indifferent Judges, that thoſe who will allow no other Miracles in the *Church of Rome*, muſt needs grant that this is one not to be conteſted. She ſitteth in her ſhop, and ſelleth at dare Rates, her Rattles and her Hoby-Horſes, whilſt the deluded World ſtill continueth to furniſh her with Cuſtomers. But whether am I carried with this Contemplation. It is high time to return to my Text, and to conſider the wonderful manner of the King's coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the voice of his People, who received him, with a joy equall to the bleſſings which his Reſtoration brought along with it. By this there was an end put to the Hopes, ſome might have abroad, of makeing uſe of his leſs happy circumſtances, to throw him into Forreign Intereſts or opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our Religion, our Laws and all other things that are dear to us; yet with all this, ſomething of thoſe Tinctures and Impreſſions, might ſo far Remain, as tho' they were very Innocent in him, yet they might have ill Effect here, by ſoftning the Animoſity which ſeemeth neceſſary to the *Defender of the Proteſtant Faith*, in oppoſition to ſuch a powerfull and irreconcilable Enemy. You may be ſure, that among all other ſort of Men who applyed themſelves to the King, at his firſt coming for his protection, the *Papiſts* were not the laſt, nor (as they fain would have flattered themſelves) the leaſt welcome, having their paſt ſufferings aswell as their preſent profeſſions to Reccomend them: Since ſo it happened, That the *Indulgence promiſed* to *Diſſenters* at *Breda*, was carried on in ſuch a manner, that the *Papiſts* were to divide with them. And though the Parliament, notwithſtanding its Reſignation to the *Crown* in all other things, rejected with Scorn and Anger, a Declaration formed for this purpoſe, yet the Birth and Steps of it gave ſuch an Alarm, that Mens Suſpicions once raiſed were not eaſily laid a ſleep again. To omit other things, *the breach of the Triple League*, and the *Dutch Warr*, with its appertinences,

pertinences, raiſed Jealouſies to the higheſt pitch imaginable; and fed the hopes of one partie, and the Fears of the other to ſuch a Degree, that ſome very Critical Reſolutions were generally expected: when the ill Succeſs of that *Warr*, and the ſacrifice *France* thought fit to make of the *Papiſts* here to their own Intereſt abroad, gave another checkt, and the Act of enjoining the *Teſt to all in Office*, was thought no ill Bargan to the Nation, tho bought at the price of 1200000 *lib.* and the Mony applyed to the continuance of the Warr againſt the *Dutch*, then which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approved. Notwithſtanding theſe Diſcouragements, *Popery* is a plant which may be mowed down, but the root will ſtill remain, and in ſpight of the Laws, it will ſprout up and grow again, eſpecially if it ſhould happen, that there will ever be Men in power, who in ſtead of Weeding it out of our Garden, will take cae to cheriſh it, and keep it alive And tho the *Law of Excluding* them from places, was to tolerably kept, as to the outward form, yet there were many Circumſtances which being improved by the quick ſighted Malice of ill affected Men, did keep up the *World* in their ſuſpicions, and blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a hight, both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Examples ſo Extravagant, that it is hoped in our age, nothing like it will be attempted.

But to come cloſer to the Caſe in Queſtion, in this condition we ſtand with the *Papiſts*, what ſhall now be done according to our *Trimmers* opinion, in Order to the Better bearing this Grievance; ſince as I have ſaid before there is no hope of being intirely freed from it. *Papiſts* we muſt have among us, and if their Religion keepeth them from bringing Honey to the Hyve, let the *Government try, at leaſt by Gentle and not by Violent Means, to take away the ſting from them.* The firſt Foundation to be laid is, that a Diſtinct conſideration is to be had of the *Popiſh Clergy*, who have ſuch an eternal Intereſt againſt all accommodation, that it is a hopleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs then all; their ſtomachs having been ſet for it ſince the *Reformation.* They have pined themſelves to a principle, that will admit no Mean, they *believe Proteſtants muſt be damned*, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of *Chriſtian Charity*, they would deſtroy one half of *England*, that the other might be ſaved. *Then for this World they muſt be in poſſeſſion for GOD Almighty, and receive his Rents for him, not to accompt till the day of Judgement*, which is a good kind of Tenure, and you cannot well blame the good Men, that they ſtir up the *Laity* to run any hazard, in order to the getting them reſtored. What is it to the *Prieſt*, if the deluded *Zelot* undoeth himſelf in the attempt, he

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ſingeth *Maſs* as Jollily, and with as good a voice at *Rome*, or *St. Omers* as ever he did; he is a ſingle man and can have no wants, but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupplied: Yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible or ungrateful to thoſe who are his Martyrs', He is ready to aſſure their executors, and if they pleaſe will procure a Grant *ſub annulo Piſcatoris* That the good Man by being hanged hath got a great Bargain, and ſaved a ſinging of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory. There is no cure for this order of Men, no expedient to be propoſed: So that tho' the outmoſt ſeverity of the Laws againſt them may in ſome ſort be Mitigated, yet no Treaty can be made with them, who in this caſe have left themſelves no free will, but are muſſled by zeal, tyed by vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the *Prieſt-hood*; That they are to be left as deſperate Patients, and to be looked upon as men who will continue in an eternal State of *Hoſtility*, till the Nation is intirely ſubdued unto them. It is therefore only the *Lay Papiſt* that is capable of being Treated with. And we are to Examine of what Temper he is, what Arguments are moſt like to prevaile upon him, and how far it is adviſeable for the Government to be Indulgent to him. The *Lay Papiſts* generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break company with thoſe of their own Party, than out of a ſettled Zeal that hath any Root in them. Moſt of them do by the Mediation of the *Prieſts*, *Marrie* amongſt one another; and ſo keep up an Ignorant oppoſition, by hearing only one ſide. Others look upon it as the better Scutcheon, the more ancient Religion of the two; and as ſome men of good Pedegree will deſpiſe meanner men, tho never ſo much Superiour to them by Nature: So thoſe undervalue the Reformation as an upſtart, and think that there is more Honour in ſupporting an old Error, them embracing what ſeemeth to them a new Truth. The Laws have made men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from publick Buſineſs, and it happeneth well that they are ſo, ſince they will be more eaſily perſwaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniencie to them. They have not put off the Man in General, nor the *Engliſh man* in particular; thoſe who in the late Storme againſt them, went into other Countries, tho they had all the Advantages that might recommend them to a good reception, yet after a little while they chooſe to Steal over again, and live here with Hazard, rather then abroad with Security. There is a ſmell in our Native Earth, better then all the Perfumes of the *Eaſt*. There is ſomething in a Mother tho never ſo angry, that the Children will naturally truſt ſooner then the moſt ſtudied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo *Hoſpital*. Therefore it is not

adviſeable, nor at all agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardſhips to forget that Nature which elſe is ſure to be on our ſide. When theſe Men by fair uſage are put again into their Right Senſes they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigor and Perſecution had raiſed in them. A *Lay-Papiſt* will firſt conſider his *Abbey Lands*, which notwithſtanding what ever hath been or can be alledged, muſt certainly ſink conſiderably in the value the moment that *Popery* prevaileth, and it being a diſputable matter whether zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law, in this caſe a conſidering man would admit that as an Argument to perſwade him to be content with things as they are, rather then run this, and the other hazard by a change, in which perhaps he may have no other advantage, than that his own humble Confeſſor may be raiſed to a *Biſhoprick*, and from thence look down Superciliouſly upon his *Patron*, and which is worſe, come to take Poſſeſſion for *God Almighty* of his *Abbey*, in ſuch a manner that the uſurping *Land Lord* (as he will there be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a Tennent unto his own Land, leſt his Title might prejudge that of the *Church*, which will then be the Language. He will think what advantage it is to be looked upon, as a ſeparate Creature, depending upou a Forreign Intereſt and Authority, and for that reaſon expoſed to the Jealouſie and ſuſpicion of his Countrymen. He will reflect what an incumbrance it is to have his houſe a Paſture for hungry *Prieſts* to Graſs in, who have ſuch a never failing Influence upon the Fooliſh, which is the greateſt part of every mans Family, that a mans Dominion even over his own Children is mangled and divided, if not totally undermined by them. Then to be ſubject to what *Arbitrary Taxes* the Popiſh Convocation ſhall impoſe upon them for the carring on the common Intereſt of that Religion, under the penalty of being marked out for half an *Heretick*, by the reſt of the party: To have no ſhare in Buſineſs, no opportunity of ſhewing his own value to the World, to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a Dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burden to a Generous Mind that cannot be taken off by all the pleaſures of an eaſie unmanly Life, or by the Nauſeous enjoyment of a dull plenty, that produceth no food for the mind, which will ever be conſidered in the firſt place, by a man that hath a Soul. When he ſhall think, that if his Religion ſhould after wading through a *Sea of Blood*, come at laſt to prevail it would infinitly leſſen, if not intirely deſtroy the Glory, Riches, Strength, and Liberty of his own Country; and what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wiſe enough to wonder there ſhould be ſuch fools

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the World, as to venture, ſtrugle and contend, nay even to die Martyrs for that, which ſhould it ſucceed, would prove a Judgement, inſtead of a Bleſſing to them.

He will conclude that the Advantages of throwing ſome of their Children back again to *God Almighty*, when they have too many, are not equal to inconveniencies they may either feel or fear by continuing their ſeparation from the Religion eſtabliſhed. Mortal things will have their weight in this World; And tho' Zeal may prevail for a time and get yet the better in a Skirmiſh, yet the War endeth generally on the ſide of Fleſh and Blood, and will do ſo, till Mankind is another thing then it is at preſent: And therefore a wiſe *Papiſt* in cold Blood conſidering theſe and many other Circumſtances, will believe it worth his pains to try if he can unmuſle himſelf from the Mask of *Infalibility*, and we think it reaſonable to ſet his impriſoned Senſes at Liberty, and that he hath a right to ſee with his own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge with his own Reaſon; The conſeqnence of which, migha probably by the weighting things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true colours, be able to make him diſtinguiſh between the merit of ſuffering for a right Cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniencies upon himſelf, and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinced that our *Proteſtant Creed* may make him happy in the next, and eaſier in this Wotld: a few of ſuch wiſe Proſylites would by their Example draw ſo many after them, that the Party would inſenſibly melt away and in a little time, without an angry Word, we ſhould come to an Union, that all good Men would have Reaſon to rejoyce at. But we are not to preſume upon theſe converſions, without preparing Men for it, by kind and reconciling Arguments; Nothing is ſo againſt our Nature as to believe thoſe can be in the Right, who are too hard upon us? there is a Deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our Eye whilſt the ſmart continueth, and a Man muſt have an extraordinary meaſure of Grace to think well of a *Religion*, that reduceth him and his Family to miſery; In this reſpect our *Trimmer* would conſent to a Mitigation of ſuch Laws as were made (as is ſaid, *Henry* the 8th got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a heat againſt *Rome*. It may be ſaid, that even States as well as private Men are ſubject to paſſions, a juſt indignation of a villanous attempt produceth at the time ſuch Remedies as perhaps are not without a mixture of ſome Revenge: And therefore tho' time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a Natural Effect ſoften the Execution of it. There is leſs danger to rouſe Lyons when they are at reſt, than to awake Laws that are intended to have their time of ſleeping; Nay, more than that,

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in some cases their Natural Periods of Life too are dying of themselves, without the Solemnity of being revocked any other wayes, than by the common consent of Mankind, who cease to execute, when the Reasons in great measure fall, that first created and justified the rigour of unusual penalties: Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out sore places in Histories against this or any other Partie; quite contrary, is very solicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, or tend to an Agreement. But to prescribe the means of this Gentleness, so as to make it effectual, must come from the only place that can furnish Remedies for this cure; *viz.* a Parliament: In the mean time it is to be wished, there might be such a mutual *calmness of Mind*, That the *Protestants* might not be so Jealous, as still to smell the Match which was to have blown up the King and both Houses in the *Gun Powder Treason*, or to start at every appearance of Popery, as if it was just taking Possession. On the other side, that the Papists may not suffer themselves to be led by any hopes, tho' never so flattering, to a Confidence or Ostentation which must provoke men to be less kind to them; that they may use Modesty on their side, and the *Protestants* Indulgence on theirs. By this means there would be an overlooking of all Venial faults, a Tacite connivance at all things that did not cary scandal with them, & it would amount to a kind of natural Dispensation with the severe Laws, since there would be no more Accusers, were the occasions of Anger and Animosities once removed.

Let the *Papists* in the mean time remember, that there is a Respect due from all lesser Numbers to Greater. A Deference to be payed by an Opinion that is exploded, to one that is Established: Such a thought well digested, will have an influence upon their behaviours, and produce such a Temper, as must win their eager Adversaries out of their ill humour to them, and give them a Title to all the favour that may be consistent with the Publick Peace and Securitie.

THE
TRIMMERS
Opinion in Relation to things ABROAD.

THE World is so composed, that it is hard if not impossible for a Nation not to be a good dale involved in the State of their Neighbours: and tho by the felicity of our Situation, we are more independent

dent than any other people; yet we have in all Ages been concerned for our own ſakes in the Revolutions Abroad. There was a time when *England* was an Over-ballancing power of Chriſtendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conqueſt, the better part of *France* received Laws from Us. After that, we being reduced into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Univerſal Monarchie; And our Third power, tho in it ſelf leſs than either of the other happned to be Superior to any one of them, by the choice we had of throwing the Scales on that ſide to which we gave our Friendſhip. And we do not know whether this figure did not make us as great as our former Conqueſts, to be a perpetual Umpire between the two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtſhip, and offered all their Incenſe at our Altar, whilſt their fat ſeemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered. For a King of *England* to ſit on his Throne (as in a Supreme Court of Juſtice with the laſt Appeal of two great Monarchs pleading their cauſe, and expecting the ſentence Declaring which ſide was on the Right, or at leaſt (if we pleaſed) which ſide ſhould have the better of it) was a piece of greatneſs which was peculiar to us; and no wonder if we endeavoured to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable time: It being our ſaftie as well as our Glory to maintain it. But by a fatality upon our Councils, or by the refined Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to uſe Induſtry to deſtroy this mighty Power which we had ſo long enjoyed; and that equality between the two Monarchs which we might for ever have preſerved, hath been chiefly broken by us, whoſe intereſt above all things it was to have maintained it. When one of them like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other then our conveniencie or indeed our ſafety would allow, inſtead of mending the Banks or making new ones, we our ſelves with our own hands helped to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther inundation. *Spain* and *France* have had their ſeveral turns of making uſe of our miſtakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the then weaker part of the World, to help them againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, as we can now be to the earneſtneſs of *Spain*, that we would aſſiſt them againſt the power of *France*. *Gondemar* was as Saucy and as powerful too in K. *Jame's* his Court, as any *French Ambaſſador* can have been in any time ſince; Men talked as wrong then on the *Spaniſh* ſide, and made their Court as well by it, as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the *French*. So that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a falſe Ballance the power of either Crowns, it looketh as if we had learned only to weigh the penſions and take the heavieſt. It would be tedious as well as unwelcome to recapitulat all our wrong ſteps, ſo that I will go no farther than the King's Reſtorati-

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on, at which time the Ballance was on the ſide of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwel*, who for a ſeparate Intereſt of his own, had ſacrificed that of the Nation, by joyning with the ſtronger ſide to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have ſupported: Such a method was natural enough to an Uſurper, and ſhewed he was not the Lawful Father of the People, by having ſo little care of them. And the example coming from that hand, one would think for that Reaſon ſhould be leſs likely to be followed.

But to go on, here cometh the King followed with Courtſhip, from all Nations Abroad; of which, ſome did it, not only to make him forget how familiarly they had uſed him whilſt he was in other Circumſtances, but to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who beſides his other greatneſs was yet more Conſiderable by being re eſtabliſhed by the Love of his People. *France* had an intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good will, or at leaſt to put us in ſuch a condition, that we might give no Oppoſition to their Deſigns: And *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a laſting Beauty for which they have an incurable Paſſion, and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditat to commit a Rape upon her; which they thought would not be eaſie to do, whilſt *England* and *Holland* were agreed to reſcue her, when ever they ſhould hear cry out for help to them. To this end they put in practice ſeaſonable and Artificial Whiſpers to widen things between us and the States; *Amboyna*, and the *Fiſhery* muſt be talked of here; the Freedom of the Seas, and the preſervation of Trade inſinuated there, and their being Combuſtible matter on both ſides, in a little time it took fire, which gave thoſe that kindled it ſufficient cauſe to ſmile, and hug themſelves to ſee us both fall into the Net, they had laid for us. And it is obſervable and of good example to us if we will take it, that their deſign being to ſet us together at cuffs to weaken us, they kept themſelves indifferent and lookers on, till our Victories begun to break the Ballance: And then the King of *France* like a wiſe Prince was reſolved to ſupport the beaten ſide, and would no more let the power of the Sea, than we ought to ſuffer the *Monarchy* of *Europe*, to fall into one Hand. In purſuance to this, he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a little time made himſelf Umpire of the Peace between Us. Sometime after upon a pretence of his *Queen's* Title to a part of *Flanders* by right of *Devolution*, he falleth into it with a mighty Force, for which the *Spaniards* were ſo little prepared, that he made a very ſwift progreſs, and had ſuch a Torrent of indiſputed Victory, that *England* and *Holland* (tho the Wounds they had given one another were yet green) being ſtruck

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with the apprehenſion of ſo near a Danger to them, thought it neceſſary for their own Defence to make up a ſudden League (into which *Sweden* was taken in) to interpoſe for a Peace between the two *Crowns*. This had ſo good an Effect, that *France* was ſtopped in its Career, and the peace of *Aix la Chapel* was a little after concluded: It was a forced putt, and the *French* wiſely diſſembled their Diſſatisfactions; yet from the very moment, they reſolved to unty this triple Knot what ever it coſt them: For his *Chriſtian Majeſty* after his conquering Meals, evet riſeth with a ſtomach, and he liked the Patern ſo well, that it gave him a longing to have the whole piece. Amongſt the other Means uſed to attain this end, the ſending over the *Dutches of Orleans*, was not the leaſt powerful; ſhe was a very welcome Gueſt here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joyned with all other Advantages which might help her perſwaſions, gave her ſuch an Aſcendent, that ſhe could hardly fail of ſucceſs. One of the preliminaries of her Treaty, tho' a trivial thing in it ſelf, yet was conſiderable in the conſequence, as very ſmall circumſtances are in relation to the *Government of the whole World*. About that time a general humour in oppoſition to *France*, had made us throw off their Faſhion, and put on *Veſts*, that we might look more like a diſtinct People, and not be under the *ſervility of Imitation*, which ever payeth a greater Deference to the Original, than is conſiſting with the Equality, all independing Nations would pretend too. *France* did not like this ſmall beginning of ill humour, or at leaſt of Emulation; and wiſely conſidering, that it is a *natural introduction*, firſt to make the World their *Apes*, that they may be afterwards their *Slaves*: It was thought that one of the Inſtructions *Madam* brought along with her, was to laugh Us out of theſe Veſts, which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a moment, like ſo many Footmen that had quited their Maſters Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our Service: So that the very time of doing it gave a *critical advantage to France*, ſince it looked like an Evidence of our returning to their Intereſts, as well as to their Faſhion; and would give ſuch a diſtruſt of us to our *New Allayes*, that it might facilitate the Diſſolution of this Knot, which tyed them ſo within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the Reſtraint. But this Lady had a more bounded Commiſſion than this, and had no doubt laid the Foundation of making a new ſtrict Allyance lately engaged; And of this there was ſuch early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into *Apoſtacy* from the common Intereſt. Notwithſtanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the ſame time to give very good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of ſupporting them againſt us;

when on a ſudden, that never to be forgotten Declaration of War againſt them cometh out, to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the injuries done to his Brother of *England*; by which he became our ſecond in this Duel; ſo humble can this Prince be! When at the ſame time he doth us more honour then we deſerved, he layeth a greater ſhare of the blame upon our ſhoulders then did naturally belong to us. The particulars of that War; our part in it whilſt we ſtaved in, and when we were out of Breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it neceſſary, and too unwelcome of themſelves to make me repeat them. Only the wiſdom of *France* is in this to be obſerved, that when we had made a ſeparate Peace, which left them ſingle to oppoſe the united force of the Confederates, they were ſo far from being Angry, That they would not ſo much as ſhew the leaſt coldneſs, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace as they would have expected from our Aſſiſtance in the War, our circumſtances at that time conſidered. This ſeaſonable peace of Indulgence in not Reproaching us, but rather allowing thoſe neceſſities of State, which we gave for our excuſe, was ſuch an ingaging method, that it went a great way to *keep us ſtill in his chains*, when to the eye of the World we had Abſolutely broken looſe from them; And by what paſſed afterwards at *Nemeghen*, tho' the Kings Neutrality gave him the figure of a Mediator, it appeared that his Interpoſition was extremely ſuſpected of partiality by the Confederats, who upon that ground did both at, and before the concluſion of the Treatie, treate his *Miniſters* there with a great dale of neglect. In this peace as well as that of the *Pireneans*, and of *Aix la Chapel*, the K: of *France* at the moment of making, had the thoughts of breaking of it; for a very little time after he broached his pretenſions upon *A Loſt*, *&c.* Things had they been offered by a leſs formidable hand, would have been ſmiled at. But ill Arguments being ſeconded with good Armies, carry ſuch a power with them, that naked Senſe is a very unequal Adverſary: It was thought that thoſe Airie Claims were raiſed with the getting of *Luxenburgh* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirmed by the blocking it up after pretending to the *County of Chimay*; and that it might be intirely ſurrendred to the *French Dominions*, it was ſo preſſed that it moſt have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not ſent Orders to his Troops to retire, and his *Chriſtian generoſity* which was aſſigned for the Reaſon of it, made the World ſmile, ſince it was ſeen how differently his devout Zeal worketh in *Hungarie*. That ſpecious Reaſon was in many reſpects ill timed, and *France* it ſelf gave it ſo faintly, that at the very time it looked out of countenance.

nance. The true ground of this Retireing is worth our Obſervation, for at the inſtance of the *Confederates*, Offices were done, and Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the Word *Parliament* was put into them; That powerful Word had ſuch an Effect, that even at that diſtance, it raiſed the Siege, which may convince us of what Efficacy a King of *Englands* Words are, when he will give them their full Weight, and threaten with his *Parliament*. It is then that he appeareth, that great Figure we ought to repreſent him in our Minds; The *Nation* his *Body*, he the *Head*, and joyned with that *Harmony*, That the very word he pronounceth is the Word of a Kingdom, ſuch words (even by this Example) are as effectual as Fleets or Armies, becauſe they can creat them: And without this, his words ſound abroad, like a *Faint Wisper*, That is either not hard, or which is worſe, not minded. But tho' *France* had made this ſtep of forced complyance, it did not mean to leave off the perſuit of their Pretenſions; and therefore Immediately propoſed the Arbitration of it to the *King*. But it appeared that notwithſtanding his Merits towards the Confederates, in ſaving *Luxenburgh*, the remembrance of what paſſed before had left ſo ill a Taſte in their Mouths, That they could not Reliſh our being put in a Condition, to diſpoſe of their Intereſts, and therefore Declined it by Inſiſting upon a General Treaty, to which *France* hath ever ſince continued Averſe. Our great earneſtneſs to perſwade the Confederates to conſent to it, was ſo unuſual and Suſpitious a Method, that it might naturally make them believe, that *France* ſpoke to them by our Mouth; and for that Reaſon (if there had been no other) might hinder their accepting it. And ſo little care hath been taken to Cure this or other Jealouſies the Confederates might have Entertained, that quite contrary their Miniſters take every day Freſh Alarms, from what they obſerve in ſmal, as well as in great Circumſtances; And tho they, both being apt to take and improve Apprehenſions of this kind, draw ſuch Inferences from them, as make them entirely deſpair of us.

Thus we now ſtand, far from being innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal Miſtake forgetting what a certain Forerunner it is to our own. And now it's time that our *Trimmer* ſhould tell ſomewhat of his Opinion upon this preſent ſtate of things Abroad. He firſt Profeſſeth to have no Byaſs either for, or againſt *France*, and that his Thoughts are wholly directed by the Intereſt of his own Country. He alloweth and hath read, that *Spain* uſed the ſame Methods when it was in it's height as *France* doth now; and therefore it is not Partiality that moveth him, but the juſt Fear that all reaſonable Men

must be possessed with of an overgrown Power. Ambition is a devouring Beast, when it hath swallowed one Province, instead of being cloyed with it, it hath so much the greater Stomach to another; And by being Fed becometh still the more Hungry: So that for the Confederates to expect a Security from any thing but from their own united *Strength*, is a *most miserable fallacy*; and if they cannot resist the *incroachments* of *France* by their *Armes*, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preservation. It would have better Grace, besides the saving of so much blood and ruine, to give up all at once, make a *present* of themselves to appease his haughty *Monarch*, rather than be whispered, flattered, or cozned out of their *Liberty*. Nothing is so soft as the first *applications* of a great Prince to engage a weaker, but that smiling countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true face, for as soon as the turn is served, the Courtship falleth to some other Prince or State, where the same part is to be acted, leaveth the old mistaken Friend to neglect and contempt; And like an insolent Lover to a Chaste Mistris, reproacheth her even with the Infamy of which he himself was the Author. *Sweden*, *Bavaria*, *Palatinate*, *&c.* may by their fresh Example teach other Princes what they are reasonably to expect, and what Snakes are hidden under the Flowers which the Court of *France* so liberally throweth upon them, whilst they can be useful. The various Methods, and the deep Intrigues, the different Notes, in several Countries, doth not only give suspicion, but assurance, that every thing is put in practice by which the Universal Monarchy may be obtained: Who can reconcile the withdrawing his Troops from *Luxenburgh* in consideration of the War in *Hungarie*, which was not then declared, and presently thereafter encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and consequently to destroy the *Empire*! Or who can think that the persecution of the poor *Protestants* in *France* will be accepted by God as an Attonment for hazarding the loss of the whole *Christian Faith*? Can he be thought in earnest when he would seem afraid of the *Spainards*, and for that Reason must have *Luxenburgh*? And that he cannot be safe from *Germany*, except he be in possession of *Strasburgh*? All injustice and violence must in it self be grievous; but the aggravation of supporting them by false Arguments and insulting Reasons, hath something in it yet more provoking, then the injuries themselves: And the World hath ground enough to apprehend from such a method of arguing, that even their Senses are to be subdued as well as their Liberties. Then the several varities of Arguments used by *France* in several Countries is very observable. In *England* and *Denmark* nothing is insisted on, but the Greatness

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and Authority of the Crown. On the other ſide the great Men in *Poland*, are commended who differ in Opinion with the King, and they argue like kind Friends to the priviledges of the Diet, againſt the ſeparate Power of the Crown: In *Sweden* they are ſomething troubled that the *King* ſhould have changed ſomethings there of late by his ſingle Authoritie from the Ancient and ſettled Conſtitution. At *Ratisbone* his moſt *Chriſtian Majeſtie* taketh the Liberties of all the *Electors* and *free States* into his immediate protection, and telleth them the *Emperor is a dangerous Man*, an *aſpiring Hero*, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to reſiſt him in their behalf: But above all, in *Holland* he hath the moſt oblidging tenderneſs for the *Common wealth*, and is in ſuch Diſquiets leſt it ſhould be invaded by the *Prince of Orange*, that they can do no leſs in gratitude than to undoe themſelves when he biddeth, to ſhew how ſenſible they are of his good Nature. Yet in ſpite of all theſe Contradictions, there are in the World ſuch very refin'd States Men, as will upon their Credit affirm the following *paradoxes* to be real Truths. Firſt, That *France* alone is ſincere, and keepeth its Faith; and conſequently, that it is the only Friend we can rely upon. That the King of *France of all Men living hath the leſt mind to be a Conqueror*; That he is a ſleepy Tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, *that hath no further thought than of being quiet*. That he is charmed by his *Friendſhip* to **Us**, that it is impoſſible he ſhould ever do us hurt: And therefore tho *Flanders* was loſt, it ſhould not in the leaſt concern **Us**. That he would fain help the *Crown of England* to be Abſolute, which would be to take pains to put **Us** in a condition to oppoſe him; as it is and muſt be our intereſt as long as he continues in ſuch an overballancing greatneſs. Such a *Creed* as this, if once received, might prepare our Belief for greater things: And as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began firſt with a Pen knife; ſo if We can be prevailed with to digeſt theſe ſmaller miſtakes, we may at laſt make our Stomacks ſtrong enough for that of *Tranſubſtantiation*. Our *Trimmer* cannot eaſily be converted out of his Senſes by theſe *State Sophiſters*, and yet he hath no ſuch *peeviſh obſtinacy*, as to reject all Correſpondence with *France*, becauſe We ought to be apprehenſive of the too great power of it. He would not have the Kings Friendſhip to the *Confederates* extend to the involving him in any *unreaſonable* or *dangerous* Engagements, neither would he have him lay aſide the Conſiderations of his better Eſtabliſhment at home, out of an exceſſive zeal to ſecure his Allies Abroad; But ſure there might be a mean between the two oppoſite Extremes, and it may be wiſhed that our Friendſhip with *France* ſhould at leaſt be ſo bounded, that it may conſiſt with the

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Honour as well as with the Interest of *England*. There is no Woman but hath her Feats of contracting too great an Intimacie with a much greater Beauty, because it exposed her too often to a comparison that is not advantagious to her: and sure it may become a Prince to be as Jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good Looks; and be as much out of countenance to be thought an humble Companion to so much a greater power, to be alwayes seen in such an ill Light, to be so darkned by the brightness of a greater Star, is somewhat Mortifying. And when *England* might Ride Admiral at the Head of the Confederates, to look like an Kitchin Yaught to the *Grand Lewis*, is but a scurvy Figure for us to make in the Mapp of Christendom; it would rise upon our *Trimmers* stomach if ever (which God forbid) the power of Calling and Intermitting *Parliaments* here, should be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our Settlements at Home, should give way to their Designs and Projects Abroad; and that our Interest should be so far sacrificed to our humour, that all the Omnipotence of *France*, can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he shrinketh at the dismal Prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* hath gathered all the Fruit arising from our mistakes, and that we can bear no more, they they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire. All this while some Superfine Statesmen to comfort us, would fain perswade the world, that this or that Accident may save us, and all which is or ought to be dear to us, would have us rely meerly upon Chance, not considering that Fortune is Wisdoms Creature; and that *God Almighty* loveth to be on the wisest as well as on the strongest side: Therefore this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful Evasion, that they would be laughed to death for it, if the ruining consequence of this Mistake did not more dispose men to the Rage and detestation of it.

Our *Trimmer* is far from *Idolatry* in other things, and in one thing only he cometh somewhat near it, his Countrey is in some Degree his Idol! He doth not Worship the Sun, because it is not Peculiar to us, it rambleth about the World, and is less kind to us then it is to other Countries; but for the Earth of *England*, tho perhaps inferiour to many places Abroad, to him there is Divinitie in it, and he had rather die then see a Spire of English grass trampled upon by a Forreign Grashopper. He thinketh that there are a great many of his Mind, for all Plants are not to taste of the soil in which they grow and we that grow, here have a root that produceth in us a stock of English juice, which is not to be changed

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by Grafting or Forreign Infusion, and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail then the Modern experiment, by which the Blood of one Creature is Transmitted into another; according to which, before the French Blood can be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them. Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament that, by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to make to another, we should live like a rich Mine made useless for want only of being wrought, and that the life and vigor which should move us against our Enemies is miserably applyed to tear our own Bowels. That being made by our happy situation not only safer, but if we please greater too, then Countries which far exceed us in Extent; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Industry, Riches by Trade, we should corrupt all those advantages, so as to make them insignificant, and by a fatality which seemeth peculiar to us, misplace our active rage one against another, whilst we are turned into Statues on that side where lyeth our greatest danger to be inconcerned, not only at our Neighbours Ruine but our own, and let our Island ly like a great bulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sails, all the men cast away in her, or as if we were all Children Rocked a sleep to a Forreign Tune, I say when Our *Trimmer* representeth to his Mind, our *Roses* blasted and discoloured, whilst the *Lillies* triumph and grow insolent upon the comparison; when he considereth our once flowrishing Laurels now withered and dying, and nothing left us but the remembrance of a better part in History, then We shall make for the next Age, which will now be no more to Us than a *Scutcheon* hung up on our doors when we are dead; when he foreseeth from hence growing, infamie from abroad, confusion at home, and all this without the possibility of a cure, in respect of the voluntary Fetters, Good Men put upon themselves by their *Allegiance*, without a great measure of preventing Grace, He would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman Philosopher*, rather than endure the burden of Life under such a discouraging prospect. But mistakes as all other have their periods, and many times the way to cure is not to oppose them, but stay till they are crushed with their own weight: For Nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is Violent; Violence is a Wound, and a Wound must be cureable in a little time, or else it is mortal: But a Nation cometh near being Immortal, therefore the Wound will one time or another be cured, tho perhaps by such rough methods, if too long foreborn, as may make even the best Remedies we can propose, to be at the same time a *Melancholly Contemplation to us.* There is but one thing

thing (*GODS Providence* excepted) to ſupport a Man from ſinking under theſe afflicting thoughts, and that is the hopes we draw ſingly from the King himſelf, without the mixture of any other Conſideration. Tho' the Nation was laviſh of their Kindneſs to him at his firſt coming, yet there remaineth ſtill a ſtock of warmth in Mens Hearts for him, beſides the good influences of his happy Planet are not yet all ſpent: And tho' the Stars of Men paſt their Youth are generally declining, and have leſs Force, like Eyes of decaying Beauties; Yet, by a bleſſing peculiar to himſelf, we may yet hope to be ſaved even by his *Autumnal Fortune*. He hath ſomething about him that will draw down a healing Miracle for his and our Deliverance. A Prince that ſeemeth fitted for ſuch an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes have been ſo generall, that the not forgiving his People had been deſtroying them? Whoſe Gentleneſs giveth him a *Natural Dominion* that hath no bounds, with ſuch a Noble mixture of Greatneſs and Condeſcention, an engaging look that diſarmeth Men of their ill Humour, and their Reſentments, ſomething in him that wanteth a name, and can no more be defined than it can be reſiſted, a gift of Heaven of its laſt finiſhing, where it will be peculiarly kind! The only Prince in the World that dares be familiar, or that hath right to Triumph over thoſe forms which were firſt invented to give aw to thoſe that could not Judge, and to hid Defects from thoſe that could: A Prince that hath exhauſted himſelf by his Liberality, and endangered himſelf by his Mercy, who only ſhineth by his own Light, and by his natural vertues excelleth all the varniſh of ſtudied Acquiſitions; his faults are like ſhades to a good picture, or like Allay to Gold to make it more uſeful; he may have ſome, but for any man to ſee them through ſo many Reconciling vertues, is a Sacrilegious piece of ill nature, of which no generous mind can be guilty. A Prince that deſerveth to be loved for his own ſake, even without the helps of a Compariſon, our love, our duty, and our danger, all join to cement our Obedience to him: In ſhort whatever he can do, it is no more poſſible for us to be angry with him, than with the bank that ſecureth us from the raging Sea, the kind ſhade that hideth us from the ſcortching Sun, the welcome hand that reacheth us a Reprive, or with the Guardian Angel that reſcueth our Soul from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

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THE CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, Our Trimmer *is ſo fully ſatisfied of the Truth of thoſe Principles by which he is directed in reference to the publick, that he will neither be Bauled, Threatned, Laughed, nor Drunk out of them; and inſtead of being Convicted by the Arguments of his Adverſaries to their Opinion he is very much confirmed in his own by them. He profeſſeth Solemnly that were it in his Power to chooſe, he rather have had his Ambition bounded by the Commandments of a Wiſe and Great Maſter, then let it Range with a Popular Licence, tho' Crowned with Succeſs. Yet he cannot commit ſuch a ſin againſt the Glorious thing called Libertie, or let his Soul ſtoop ſo much below it ſelf, as to be content without repining to have his reaſon intirely ſubdued, or the Priviledge of Acting like a ſenſible Creature torn from him by the Imperious Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hands ſoever it happeneth to be placed. What is there in this, that is ſo Criminal as to deſerve the penalty of that moſt ſingular Apothegm, "* A Trimmer *is worſe than a "* Rebel *? What do angry Men aile to rail ſo againſt* Moderation *? Doth it not look as if they were going to ſome Scurvie Extreme, that is too ſtrong to be digeſted by the more conſidering part of Mankind. Theſe* Arbitrary Methods, *beſides the unjuſtice of them are, GOD bethanked, very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds by talking ſo loud from coming into the net that is laid for them. When Men agree to riffle a houſe, they ſeldom give warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are ſome ſmall* States Men *who are ſo full charged with their own expectations, that they cannot contain; and kind Heaven by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable eaſe upon their Underſtandings, hath made their* Ignorance *an Antidote againſt their* Malice; *ſome of theſe cannot treat peaceably, yeelding will not ſatisfie them, they will have Men by ſtorm. There are others who muſt have plots to make their ſervice neceſſary, and have an Intereſt to keep them alive ſince they are to live upon them; Theſe Men would perſwade the King to Retrench his own greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the Head of a party, which is a betraying him into ſuch an un-Princely miſtake, and into ſuch a wilful diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt Enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive. Such Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to ſhine only upon them and their Friends, and to have all the reſt of the World in the dark. This is a very unuſual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which maketh it Treaſon to impriſon the King, when ſuch unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and be confined to the narrow circle of a particular*

set of Men, that would enclose him. These Honest and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allowed to bear witness for themselves, make a King their Engine, and degrade him into a property, at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe that they payed Divine Worship to him. Besides these there is a flying Squadron on both sides, that are afraid the World should agree, small Dablers in conjuring, that raise angrie Apparitions to keep Men from being reconciled; like Wasps they flie up and down, buz and sting to keep Men unquiet; But those Insects are commonly short lived Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them: they were Gyants at least who once fought against Heaven, but for such Pigmees as these to contend against it, it is such a provoking Folly, that the insolent Buglers ought to be Laughed and Hissed out of the World for it. They should consider, there is a Soul in that great Body of the People, which may for a time be drowsie and unactive; but when the Leviathan is rousted, it moveth like an angry creature, and will neither be convinced nor resisted. The People can never agree to show their united power, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it: So that to apply Cuping-glasses to a great Beast naturally disposed to sleep, and to force the same thing whether it will or no to be valiant, must be learned out of some other Book than Machiavel, who would never have prescribed such a preposterous Method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their side, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a Formidable Adversary. Duty, Justice, Religion, nay even Humane Prudence too biddeth the people suffer every thing rather than resist: But corrupted Nature where ever it feeleth a smart will run to the nearest Remedy. Mens passions are in this case to be considered as much as their Duty, let it be never so strongly enforced; for if their passions are provoked, they being as much a part of us as any of our Limbs, they lead Men into a short way of Arguing that admitteth no Distinctions, and from the foundations of self-defence: They will draw inferences that will have miserable effects upon the quiet of a Government. Our Trimmer therefore dreadeth a general discontent, because he thinketh it differeth from a Rebellion, only as a spoted Fever doth from the Plague, the same species under a lower Degree of Malignity; It worketh several wayes, sometimes like a slow poyson that hath its effects a great distance from the time that it is given, sometimes like dry flax prepared to catch at the first fire, or like seed in the ground ready to sprout upon the first shower, in every shape it is fatal. And our Trimmer thinketh no pains or caution can be too great to prevent it. In short, he thinketh himself in the Right, grounding his Opinions upon that Truth, which equally hateth to be under the oppression of wrangling Sophistry of one side, or the short Dictates of mistaken Authority on the other. Our Trimmer adoreth the Goddess Truth, tho' in all Ages She hath been scurvily used, as well as those that worshipped her. It is of late become such a reigning Vertue, that Mankind seemeth to be agreed, to commend and avoid it, yet the want of

practice

practice which repealeth all other Laws, hath no influence upon the Law of Truth, *because it hath a root in Heaven, and an intrinsick value in it self that can never be impaired. She sheweth her greatness in this, that her Enemies even when they are successful, are ashamed to own it. Nothing but powerful Truth hath the Prerogative of Triumphing not only over Victory, but in spite of it, and to put conquest it self out of countenance: she may be kept under and suppressed, but her Dignity still remaineth with her even when she is in chains.* False-hood *with all its impudence hath not enough to speak ill of her before her face; such Majesty she carrieth about her, that her most prosperous Enemies are fain to whisper their Treason; All the power on Earth can never extinguish her, she hath lived in all Ages, and let the mistakes of prevailing Authority christen any opposition to it with what name they please, make it not only an ugly and unmannerly thing to profess it, she hath lived so still very retiredly indeed; nay, sometimes so buried, that only some few of the more discerning part of Mankind could have a glimpse of her: With all she hath* Eternity *in her, she knoweth not how to die, and from the darkest clouds that can shade or cover her, she breaket out from time to time with triumph for her Friends, and terror to her Enemies. Our* Trimmer *therefore inspired by this* Divine Vertue, *thinketh fit to conclude with these Assertions, That our Clymat is a* Trimmer *between that part of the World where Men* are roasted, and the other where they are frozen: *That* our Church is a Trimmer *between the* phrenzie of Phanatick Visions, *and the* Lethargick ignorance *of* Popish dreams. *That Our Laws are* Trimmers *between the Excesses of unbounded power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough restrained. That true Vertue hath ever been thought a* Trimmer, *and to have its dwelling in the midle between the two Extremes; That even* GOD Almighty Himself *is divided between his two great Attributes,* His Mercy, *and* His Justice.

In such Company Our *Trimmer* is not ashamed of his name, and willingly leaveth to the bold Champions of either Extremes, the Honour of contending with no less Adversaries than NATURE, RELIGION, LIBERTY, PRUDENCE, HUMANITY, and *Common Sense.*

FINIS.

INTELLIGENT READER, If this be pleasant to thy Taste, Expect two such Dishes from the said Author; *viz. REASONS against Repealling the Acts of Parliament concerning the TEST.* The other, *A Letter to a* Dissenter, *&c.*

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